

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 6460

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PL

SUBJ: RFE RESEARCH REPORT: "THE SUMMER STORM IN POLAND", BY
THOMAS E. HENEGHAN

1. I HAVE BEEN STRUCK BY THE COGENCY AND DEPTH OF ANALYSIS OF THIS REPORT. THIS IS PRECISELY THE SORT OF RESPONSIBLE ANALYSIS WHICH THE POLISH SERVICE OF RFE, WITH MINIMAL ADAPTATION, SHOULD TRANSLATE AND BROADCAST. I CAN SEE NO REASON WHY THE REPORT COULD NOT BE BILLED AS JUST WHAT IT IS: AN ANALYSIS BY RFE'S RESEARCH STAFF.

2. LIKE MR. HENEGHAN, WE DO NOT HAVE INFORMATION WHICH WOULD ENABLE US TO GIVE A CONFIDENT ANSWER TO THE QUESTION: WHERE AND HOW DID THE LEADERSHIP MAKE ITS MISTAKE? A COUPLE OF SIGNIFICANT FACTORS CAN BE CITED, HOWEVER. ONE IS THE FAILURE OF THE LEADERSHIP, IN ITS HASTY "CONSULTATIONS" WITH THE PARTY ACTIVES JUST BEFORE JUNE 24, TO SAY BY HOW MUCH IT WAS PLANNING TO RAISE PRICES. THE MEMBERS OF THE ACTIVES HEARD THE LEADERSHIP PITCH WITH THE ASSUMPTION IN MIND THAT THE PRICE RISE WOULD BE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF FIFTEEN, TWENTY, OR TWENTY-FIVE PERCENT. INSTEAD, IT WAS THREE TIMES THAT. SECONDLY, MEMBERS OF THE REGIME HAD BEEN TALKING AMONG THEMSELVES ABOUT HOW GOOD THE WORKERS HAD IT (E.G., A FORTY PERCENT RISE IN REAL WAGES SINCE 1971) WITHOUT OBTAINING AN AUTHORITATIVE VIEW FROM THE WORKERS. THE POLL, TO WHICH JAGIELSKI REFERRED, WAS "PARTIAL" IN THE SENSE THAT IT PRESUMABLY DID NOT ADDRESS THE CRUCIAL QUESTION OF WORKER EXPECTATIONS,
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WHICH HAVE ONLY BEEN PARTIALLY FULFILLED. EVEN WITH THE ADDITIONAL

WAGES, THE WORKERS WERE STILL UNABLE TO BUY AS MUCH MEAT AND AS MANY CONSUMER DURABLES AS THEY WOULD LIKE TO HAVE, BECAUSE THE ECONOMY IS NOT PRODUCING ENOUGH OF THESE TO GO AROUND. THEN, TOO, THERE IS THE CHRONICALLY UNSATISFIED DEMAND FOR MORE ADEQUATE HOUSING.

3. THE WEAKNESS OF THE REGIME, AND ITS CONSCIOUSNESS OF THAT WEAKNESS, ARE REVEALED MOST SHARPLY IN GIEREK'S STATEMENT AT MIELEC ABOUT COOPERATION WITH THE CHURCH. RECOURSE TO AN APPEAL FOR COOPERATION WITH THE CHURCH IS THE LAST REFUGE OF A BOLSHEVIK. THE LOCUS CLASSICUS, OF COURSE, IS STALIN'S 1941 REVERSAL OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE ORTHODOX CHURCH.
DAVIES

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